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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the long-standing problem in Bantu syntax of why some objects lose the ability to be realized as object markers (OMs) in the passive. The standard answer to this question since the work of Gary and Keenan (1977) is that the passive and object marker require the same property (e.g., a grammatical relation or a particular case) and if this property is usurped by the passive, it will not be available for an OM. This paper suggests an alternative approach, which maintains that OMs are blocked in the passive, not because the passive and object marker compete for the same scarce resource, but rather because the addition of the passive morpheme adds a structural level that blocks the access of the OMs to case. This modification makes it possible to account for the fact that several standard OMs can absorb case in an active construction, while access to this property is blocked for all standard OMs in a passive construction. This modification has the added benefit of allowing the theory to account for the odd behavior of SiSwati in a simple way and to capture the parallelism between the behavior of Runyambo and SiSwati. (MDM)

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Why Passive Can Block Object Marking

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This paper focuses on the long-standing problem in Bantu syntax of why some objects lose the ability to be realized as object markers in the passive. The standard answer to this question since Gary and Keenan 1977 is that passive and object marking require the same property (a grammatical relation, a particular Case, etc.) and if this property is usurped by the passive, it will not be available for an object marker (OM). However, more recent literature on this problem, such as Alsina and Mchombo 1993, Baker 1988, Bresnan and Moshi 1990, De Guzman 1987, Harford 1993, Hoffman 1991, Kimenyi 1980, Marantz 1984, Rugemalira 1993, and Woolford 1993, has massed a number of examples from various Bantu languages that present problems for the standard approach. Some improvements in the standard approach have been suggested in the work cited above that handle some of these problems, but the goal of this paper is to argue for a different answer to the basic question of how passive blocks object marking.

This approach begins with the idea from Baker 1988 that object markers need to absorb Case from the verb root (or applicative morpheme). But to this is added the notion developed in Woolford 1993 that Case is only accessible to an object marker if the Case assigner is no further away than the adjacent level of morphological structure. The answer to the question how passive blocks object marking under this approach is that the addition of the

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passive morpheme to the verbal complex puts an additional level of morphological structure between an object marker and the verb root, thus preventing the OM from absorbing Case from the root.

This paper is organized as follows. Section one lays out some data from SiSwati and Kinyarwanda that is problematic for the standard approach to passives and object marking. In section two, the proposed alternate approach is outlined in an informal manner and it is shown to handle the patterns of object marking in SiSwati, Kinyarwanda, Kichaga, Kitharaka, and Runyambo. In section three, a more formal solution is presented in the framework of Baker 1988 as modified in Woolford 1993, and a brief discussion of how this solution extends to Chichewa is included here.

1. The Problem

The passive appears to have a different effect on object marking in different Bantu languages. If we examine three languages (Kitharaka, SiSwati, and Kichaga) which are alike in having a symmetric passive pattern (where either object in a double object construction can passivize), as shown in (2) through (4), as well as a symmetric pattern of object marking in active constructions (where either object can be realized as an object marker), as shown in (6) through (8), we find three different patterns of object marking in the passive: Kitharaka allows no object marking at all in the passive (10); SiSwati will not allow the first/highest object to be realized as an object marker in the passive (11); while Kichaga places no restrictions on object markers in the passive (12).

(1) Symmetric Passive Pattern: Kitharaka, SiSwati, Kichaga

	V	NP_1	NP_2
a.	pass		
b.		pass	

(2) Kitharaka (Harford 1993)

a. Mw-íkí ná-á-rá-túm-íír-w-é ngúò né-ékúrú.
1-bride foc-SM1-pst-sew-pst/appl-pass-FV 10/clothes by-2/women
The bride had clothes sewn for her by the women.

b. Ngúó ní-í-rá-túm-íír-w-é mw-íkì né-ékúrú.
10/clothes foc-SM10-pst-sew-pst/appl-pass-FV 1-bride by-2/women
The clothes were sewn for the bride by the women.

(3) SiSwati (De Guzman 1987)

a. Síníní sí-ník-w-è bànánà ngù Jôhn.
friend agr-give-pass-tns banana by John
The friend was given a banana by John.

b. Bànánà ú-ník-w-è síníní ngù Jôhn.
banana agr-give-pass-tns friend by John
The banana was given (to) a friend by John.

(4) Kichaga (Bresnan and Moshi 1990)

a. M̀-kà n-ã̄-ī̄-lyì-í-ò k-èlyâ.
1-wife foc-agr-tns-eat-appl-pass 7-food
The wife is being benefited/adversely affected by someone's eating the food.

b. K-èlyá k-ī̄-lyì-í-ò m̀-kà.
7-food agr-tns-eat-appl-pass 1-wife
The food is being eaten for/one the wife.

(5) Symmetric Object Marking Pattern: SiSwati, Kitharaka, Kichaga

	V	NP_1	NP_2
a.		OM	
b.			OM

(6) Kitharaka (Harford 1993)

a. Èékúrú ! í-bá-rá-**mú**-túm-íír-è ngúó.
2/women foc-SM2-pst-**OM1**-sew-pst/appl-FV 10/clothes
The women sewed clothes for her.

b. Èékúrú ! í-bá-rá-**í**-túm-íír-é mw-ìkì.
2/woman foc-SM2-pst-**OM10**-sew-pst/appl-FV 1-bride
The women sewed them for the bride.

(7) SiSwati (De Guzman 1987)

a. Jôhn ú-sí-ník-è bànánà.
John agr-OM-give-tns banana
John gave him a banana.

b. Jôhn ú-wù-ník-è síníní.
John agr-OM-give-tns friend
John gave it to a friend.

(8) Kichaga (Bresnan and Moshi 1990)

a. N-ã-ĩ-m̀-lyì-í-à k-èlyâ.
foc-agr-tns-OM-eat-appl-FV 7-food
He/she is eating food for/on him/her.

b. N-ã-ĩ-kì-lyí-í-à m̀-kà.
foc-agr-tns-OM-eat-appl-FV 1-wife
He/she is eating it for/on the wife.

(9) Three Different Patterns of Object Marking in the Passive

	Kitharaka	SiSwati	Kichaga
	V NP_1 NP_2	V NP_1 NP_2	V NP_1 NP_2
a.	*pass OM	pass OM	pass OM
b.	*OM pass	*OM pass	OM pass

(10) Kitharaka (Harford 1993)

a. *Mw-íkí ná-á-rá-í-túm-íír-w-é né-ékúrú.
1-bride foc-SM1-pst-**OM10**-sew-pst/appl-pass-FV by-2/woman
The bride had them sewn for her by the women.

b. *Ngúó ní-í-rá-**mú**-túm-íír-w-é né-ékúrú.
10/clothes foc-SM10-pst-**OM1**-sew-pst/appl-pass-FV by-2/woman
The clothes were sewn for her by the women.

(11) SiSwati (De Guzman 1987)[1]

a. Sínínì sí-wù-ník-w-è ngù Jôhn.
friend agr-OM-give-pass-tns by John
The friend was given it by John.

b. *Bànánà ú-sí-ník-w-è ngù Jôhn.
banana agr-OM-give-pass-tns by John
The banana was given (to) him by John.

(12) Kichaga (Bresnan and Moshi 1990)

a. M̀-kà n-ǎ-ɪ̂-kì-lyí-í-ò.
1-wife foc-agr-tns-OM-eat-appl-pass
The wife is being benefited/adversely affected by someone's eating it.

b. K-ɪ̂-m̄-lyì-í-ò.
agr-tns-OM-eat-appl-pass
It is being eaten for/on him/her.

The account in Gary and Keenan 1977 handles languages with the two most extreme patterns: those that completely prohibit OMs in the passive (e.g. Kitharaka) and those that place no restrictions on OMs in the passive (e.g. Kichaga). Their account forms the basis of most subsequent work on this problem and will thus be referred to here as the standard approach. The basic idea behind the standard approach is an NP must have some property, P, in order to passivize or to be realized as an object marker. For Gary and Keenan

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[1]This is not the same restriction that Kichaga manifests, where an overt inanimate subject NP cannot occur with an animate object marker. In SiSwati, the asymmetry holds even when both objects are inanimate, as shown below. (Data from de Guzman 1987)

(i) Ngí-gcòbís-è úmtímbà ŕmàfutsà.
I-smear-tns body oil
I smeared the body (with) oil.

(ii) Úmtímbà ú-wà-gcòtjís-w-è ngì mì.
body agr-OM-smear-pass-tns by me
The body was smeared (with) it by me.

(iii)a. Émàfútsà á-gcòtjís-w-è úmtímbà ngì mì.
oil agr-smear-pass-tns body by me
The oil was smeared on the body by me.

b. *Émàfútsà á-wù-gcòtjís-w-è ngì mì.
oil agr-OM-smear-pass-tns by me
The oil was smeared on it by me.

1977, P is the grammatical relation of Object; for Baker 1988, P is structural accusative Case; and for Bresnan and Moshi 1990, P is the feature [-r] (semantically unrestricted). Languages differ, under the standard approach, in how many NP objects can have this property, P, at once: only one or more than one.

(13) Standard Approach to Passive and Object Marking

In order to passivize or to become an object marker, an NP must have some property, P.

a. Type One Language (e.g. Kitharaka)

Only one NP per clause can have the property, P, at the same time.

b. Type Two Language (e.g. Kichaga)

More than one NP per clause can have the property, P, at once.

The effect is that passivization and object marking compete for the same one instance of P in type one languages. As a result, one NP can passivize, or one NP can be an OM, but there cannot be two OMs at once, nor can one NP passivize while the other becomes an OM. In contrast, there is no shortage of the property P in type two languages. All of the NP objects may have P at once. As a result, all of the objects can be realized as object markers at once in active constructions, and all of the objects (except the one that passivizes) can in passive constructions.

(14) Predictions of the Standard Approach

a. Type One Language (e.g. Kitharaka)

Only one NP per clause can
.passivize
.be an OM
No OMs allowed in the passive.

b. Type Two Language (e.g. Kichaga)

Multiple OMs in the active.
OMs allowed in the passive.

A language like SiSwati is unexpected under the standard approach because it does not fall squarely under either type of language. Since SiSwati allows an OM in the passive, as in example (11a), Bresnan and Moshi 1990 place it in the category of type two languages (symmetrical object languages, in their terminology). They argue that the number of OMs that a language allows is an independent factor, so that the fact that SiSwati does not allow two OMs at once in active constructions should not disqualify it as an instance of a type two language. However, SiSwati is still atypical for a type two language because it will not allow the first object to be an OM, while the second object passivizes, as shown in (11b). Hoffman 1991 suggests that SiSwati may actually be a type one language. SiSwati behaves like a type one language in allowing only one NP to be an OM at once; but, as a type one language, it should not allow any OMs in the passive. To deal with this problem, Hoffman suggests that SiSwati allows an alternate type of object marker, which can occur in the passive because it does not require the property P. To account for why this alternate OM is restricted to the second object, Hoffman suggests that it requires some other property, Q, which only the second NP has.[2]

Before attempting to resolve this problem, however, we need to ask whether SiSwati constitutes a unique problem or whether there are other Bantu languages whose passive and object marking behavior also present problems for the standard approach outlined above. In fact, there are.

Kinyarwanda is generally thought of as a classic example of a type two language (e.g. Gary and Keenan 1977, Kimenyi 1980, Marantz 1984, Baker 1988, Bresnan and Moshi 1990, Hoffman 1991). In the triple-object construction in (15), any of these objects can be realized as object markers in the active, or all three of them at once can, as shown in (16). In addition, any one of these objects can passivize, as shown in (17).

(15) Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1980)
Umugóre a-rá-hé-er-a umugabo ímbwa ibíryo.
woman she-pres-give-appl-asp man dog food
The woman is giving food to the dog for the man.

(16) Umugóre a-rá-**bi-yí-mu**-he-er-a.
woman she-pres-**it-it-him**-give-appl-asp
The woman is giving it to it for him.

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[2]Hoffman's (1991) specific proposal is that the alternate OM is an incorporated pronoun, which has to be a sister of V, as the second NP is, rather than in Spec VP, as the first NP is.

(17)a. Umugabo a-rá-hé-er-w-a ímbwa ibíryo n'ûmugóre.
man he-pres-give-appl-pass-asp dog food by woman
The man is given food for the dog by the woman.

b. Ímbwa i-rá-hé-er-w-a umugabo ibíryo n'ûmugóre.
dog it-pres-give-appl-pass-asp man food by woman
The dog is given food for the man by the woman.

c. Ibíryo bi-rá-hé-er-w-a umugabo ímbwa n'ûmugóre.
food it-pres-give-appl-pass-asp man dog by woman
The food is given to the dog for the man by the woman.

This pattern of data makes it appear that all three of the objects in this construction have the property P that necessary for passivization or realization as an object marker. Thus, the standard account predicts that it should be grammatical to passivize one NP, while realizing the other two as object markers. However, all such combinations are ungrammatical, as shown in (19).

(18) Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1980)
Abagabo b-a-kí-mú-gú-hé-er-eye.
men they-past-it-him-you-give-appl-asp
The men gave it to him for you.

(19)a. *Cy-a-mu-gu-he-er-ew-e n'âbagabo.
it-past-him-you-give-appl-pass-asp by men
It was given to him for you by the men.

b. *Y-a-ki-gu-he-er-ew-e n'âbagabo.
he-past-it-you-give-appl-pass-asp by men
He was given it for you by the men.

c. *W-a-ki-mu-he-er-ew-e n'âbagabo.
you-past-it-him-give-appl-pass-asp by men
For you, he was given it by the men.

The data in (19) make it appear that Kinyarwanda is like Kitharaka in barring all OMs in the passive. However, the situation is not that simple; although all examples with two OMs in the passive are ungrammatical, Kinyarwanda does allow one NP to be realized as an object marker in the passive. The following

examples were kindly provided by Alexandre Kimenyi.[3] All six of the versions in (20) are grammatical in Kimenyi's dialect; however, he informs me that some speakers find (20c,d,and e) ungrammatical.

(20)a. Imbwá i-ra-bí-he-er-w-a umugabo n'úmugoré.
dog it-pres-it-give-appl-pass-asp man by woman
The dog is given it (food) for the man by the woman.

b. Imbwá i-ra-mú-he-er-w-a ibiryó n'úmugoré.
dog it-pres-him-give-appl-pass-asp food by woman
The dog is given food for him by the woman.

c. Ibiryó bi-ra-yí-he-er-w-a umugabo n'úmugoré.
food it-pres-it-give-appl-pass-asp man by woman
The food is given to it (the dog) for the man by the woman.

d. Ibiryó bi-ra-mú-he-er-w-a imbwá n'úmugoré.
food it-pres-him-give-appl-pass-asp dog by woman
The food is given to the dog for him (the man) by the woman.

e. Umugabo a-ra-bí-he-er-w-a imbwá n'úmugoré.
man he-pres-it-give-appl-pass-asp dog by woman
The man is given it (food) to the dog by the woman.

f. Umugabo a-ra-yí-he-er-w-a ibiryó n'úmugoré.
man he-pres-it-give-appl-pass-asp food by woman
The man is given food to it (the dog) by the woman.

We can summarize this Kinyarwanda data pattern as follows:

(21) V NP_1 NP_2 NP_3
pass
pass
pass
OM OM OM

[3]Underlying tone is marked in this example, in contrast to the way tone is marked in the examples from Kimenyi 1980.

*pass OM OM
*OM pass OM
*OM OM pass

pass NP OM
NP pass OM
NP OM pass
pass OM NP
OM pass NP
OM NP pass

As described above with respect to SiSwati, there are two possible ways that we could attempt to fit this Kinyarwanda data into the standard approach. If we continue to consider Kinyarwanda as a type two language, we must propose some sort of language-specific constraint to limit the number of OMs in the passive to one (while allowing three in the active). Alternatively, if we move Kinyarwanda into the type one category, where all standard OMs would be barred in the passive, we could propose (following Hoffman 1991 for SiSwati and Bresnan and Moshi 1990 for Kichaga) that Kinyarwanda has an alternate type of OM that does not require the property P, and thus can occur in the passive. This alternate OM would need to require some property, Q, that is limited to one per clause in order to limit the number of OMs in the passive to one. Although this would take care of the passive data, it would create a problem in the active. If there can only be one alternate type of OM per clause, and there can be only one standard OM per clause (because only one NP per clause can have the necessary property P in type one languages), how is it possible for there to be three OMs in active constructions in Kinyarwanda?

Instead of pursuing this question of how to fit SiSwati and Kinyarwanda into the typology of the standard approach, however, this paper will take the opposite approach: how to alter the standard approach to produce a typology in which SiSwati and Kinyarwanda do fit.

2. An Alternate Approach: Generalizations and Assumptions

Before getting into the technical details of the formal solution presented in section three, this section will lay out the assumptions upon which this alternate approach rests and the generalizations that it captures, which readers may wish to formulate in the framework of their choice.

Let us first accept two additions to the standard approach suggested by previous research. First, let us accept Bresnan and Moshi's 1990 claim that the upper limit on how many OMs a language can have is an independent factor with no necessary relation to other facts about the language. This assumption seems necessary for languages like SiSwati, where one NP can passivize while the other is realized as an OM (indicating that two objects can have the property P at once), but two NPs cannot be OMs at once in the active.

Second, let us accept the fact that there is more than one type of object marker and different types have different needs. Bresnan and Mchombo 1987 discuss the distinction between OMs that are agreement markers (obligatorily co-occurring with an overt NP) and OMs that are not. Of the non-agreement OMs, there is evidence for at least two types. One type, which I will call the **standard OM**, is the one most often discussed in previous research. It has the same need or prerequisite as the passive (the property P, referred to above). In addition, there is at least one alternate type of OM, with different needs (Bresnan and Moshi 1990, Hoffman 1991). I will call this alternate type of OM, the **pronominal OM**, because it manifests restrictions that one finds on free pronouns in other languages. (There may be a maximum of one pronoun object, as in most dialects of English, and the pronoun may have to be adjacent to the verb, again as in English.) These three types of OMs are summarized below.

(22) Types of Object Markers (OMs)

1. **Agreement OM**: obligatorily doubles a lexical NP (e.g. Swahili)

2. **Standard OM**: has the same need/prerequisite as passive

3. **Pronominal OM**: needs/prerequisites differ from passive
(needs parallel those of free pronouns in other languages)

This paper will deal only with the last two, non-agreement types: standard OMs and pronominal OMs.

The major additional change suggested here is to replace the assumption in the standard approach about how the passive blocks the formation of object markers. The standard assumption is that the passive interferes with object marking only indirectly, because it usurps one instance of the property P which would otherwise be available to an OM. In the account proposed here, this assumption is replaced by the idea that the addition of the passive morpheme can (depending on where it is attached) more directly interfere with object marking by creating a barrier that blocks all access to P

by OMs. That is, regardless of how many NPs have access to the property P in the active, the addition of the passive morpheme can completely block this access, even if the passive morpheme does not, itself, require P.

Let us examine the consequences of this change for the treatment of the Kinyarwanda facts discussed above. We saw that, although three objects can be OMs in the active, all examples with two OMs in the passive are ungrammatical. To rule out these ungrammatical examples, the possibility was discussed above that Kinyarwanda might really be a type one language, in which all standard OMs (OMs that require P) are blocked in the passive (but one alternate OM is possible). However, under the standard approach, this would require Kinyarwanda to have only one P available in any construction, active or passive, and it becomes very difficult to account for the three OMs in active constructions. Under the change suggested above, this difficulty disappears. Kinyarwanda can continue to be a language with a P for every NP object (as traditionally assumed), so that multiple OMs are possible in the active. In the passive, however, access of all OMs to P can be blocked by the addition of the passive morpheme.

Under this approach, the line between type one and type two languages disappears. All languages are type two languages in the sense that they provide the property P (here, structural accusative Case) to all lexical NP objects. If an object cannot be realized as an OM, it is because access to P by the OM morpheme is blocked inside the verbal complex. At the same time, a great many languages behave like type one languages in that the configuration that produces a symmetric passive always completely blocks all standard OMs.

(23) The configuration that produces a symmetric passive (where either object can passivize) always block standard OMs (in the passive).

(Thus, any OM that occurs in a symmetric passive construction must be a non-standard (pronominal) OM.)

We have seen above that it is desirable to block standard OMs in Kinyarwanda, which has a symmetric passive. It is also desirable to block standard OMs in Kitharaka, which has a symmetric passive, but allows no OMs in the passive. What about Kichaga, the most well-behaved type two language that freely allows OMs in the passive? For independent reasons, Bresnan and Moshi 1990 conclude that Kichaga allows an alternate type of OM that does not require P (a pronominal OM in the above typology). If there is no limit on the number of such OMs that can occur at once in Kichaga, then

Kichaga, too, can be said to conform to (23).[4]

The generalization in (23) is restricted to symmetric passives, and does not apply to English-type asymmetric passive constructions.

(24) The configuration that produces an English-type asymmetric passive (where only the first/thematically highest object can passivize) never blocks standard OMs.

There are two reasons for believing that English-type asymmetric constructions are different in this way: First, languages with the latter type of passive seem to freely allow OMs in the passive (as we will see below) and, second, in the formal theory presented in section three, it follows automatically that OMs will not be denied access to P in the latter type of passive construction.

An example of a language with an English-type asymmetric passive that freely allows OMs in the passive is Runyambo (Rugemalira 1993). Runyambo is like Kinyarwanda and Kichaga in allowing two objects to be realized as object markers at once, as in (25).

(25) Runyambo (Rugemalira 1993)

a. Omuseija a-ka-reet-er-á omwáná ebiráatwa.
man he-PAST-bring-APP-FV child shoes
A man brought shoes for a child.

b. Omuséíjá a-ka-bi-mu-réćt-er-á omwáná ebiráatwa.
man he-PAST-OM-OM-bring-APP-FV child shoes
A man brought them for her.

Runyambo also allows an object marker to occur in the passive, as shown below. However, the passive pattern in not symmetric, as in Kinyarwanda, Kichaga, Kitharaka, and SiSwati. Instead, Runyambo has a passive pattern like the English dialect that allows only the first or highest object to passivize, as shown in (26).[5]

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[4]The plausibility of such cross-linguistic variation in the number of pronominal OMs that a language allows is supported by the fact that we find a similar differences between languages that have free-standing object pronouns: some languages (e.g. English) allow only one pronoun object, while others (e.g. Tswana) allow more than one.

[5]The second object must appear as an object marker in the passive construction in (26) because Runyambo does not allow any overt NPs to remain inside the VP in the passive in Runyambo, except the 'demoted' agent.

(26) Runyambo (Rugemalira 1993)

a. Omuseija a-ka-reet-er-á omwáána ebiráatwa.
man he-PAST-bring-APP-FV child shoes
A man brought shoes (for) a child.

b. Omwáána a-ka-bi-reet-er-w-á omuséija.
child she-PAST-them-bring-APP-PAS-FV man
The child was brought them by a man.

c. *Ebiráátwá bi-ka-mu-reet-er-w-á omuséija.
shoes they-PAST-her-bring-APP-PAS-FV man
Shoes were brought (for) her by a man.

We can summarize the Runyambo pattern as follows:

(27) Runyambo

V	NP_1	NP_2
	OM	OM
	pass	OM
	*OM	pass

There is no need to place any restriction on the occurrence of OMs in Runyambo. Any NP can be realized as an OM in either active or passive constructions. The last pattern shown above, reflecting example (26c) is ungrammatical because it involves the passivization of the second NP instead of the first, which is not possible in a language with an English-type asymmetric passive. Now, the fact that the behavior of passive and object marking are not parallel in Runyambo is unexpected under the standard approach, although it can be dealt with easily in Bresnan and Moshi's 1990 approach, by saying that only the first object has the property P, and when the second object is an OM, it is an alternative type of OM that does not require P. However, there is no need to appeal to alternative OMs in the account proposed here. All objects have the property P and, moreover, access to P is never blocked in Runyambo, so nothing prevents any NP from being realized as an OM. The reason that only the first NP can passivize has nothing to do with access to P, but follows from an independent principle. The intuitive idea is that if you attach the passive morpheme soon/low enough, the grammar treats the passive construction as if it were an active construction with the highest object as the subject; thus, as with a subject, the highest object is forced to move to the subject position. (See Woolford 1993 for a detailed account.) Moreover, attaching the passive morpheme soon/low enough also has the effect of not creating a barrier between the object marker and its

source of P.

This leaves SiSwati. Recall that SiSwati is like Kitharaka in allowing either object to be an OM in the active and in allowing either object to passivize, but unlike Kitharaka (and instead, like Runyambo) in allowing the second NP to be an OM in the passive.

(28) SiSwati

V	NP_1	NP_2
	OM	
		OM
	pass	
		pass
	pass	OM
	*OM	pass

Under this approach, the fact that SiSwati behaves in some ways like Kitharaka and in other ways like Runyambo is not an accident. What produces the SiSwati pattern under this approach is that SiSwati allows both types of passive construction, symmetric (like Kitharaka) and English-type asymmetric (like Runyambo). In the symmetric passive construction, SiSwati behaves like Kitharaka: either NP can passivize, but neither object can be an OM. In its English-type asymmetric passive construction, only the first object can passivize, but the second object is free to be an OM. Nothing else needs to be said about SiSwati, except that there is an independent limit of one OM per clause, as Bresnan and Moshi 1990 suggest.

In the following section, a more formal statement of this approach will be presented.

3. A Formal Account Based on Morphological Structure

In this account, the property, P, that is necessary for passive and for standard OMs in this framework is structural accusative Case, following Baker 1988. The treatment of the different types of passives is the same as in Woolford 1993, and the reader is referred to that paper for more details and justification of that approach to passives.

Under this approach, what is important in determining whether or not an NP can passivize or become an object marker is not related to whether or not the lexical NP can get structural accusative Case. It is assumed that all

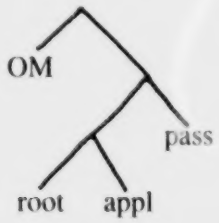
lexical NP objects get structural accusative Case. Instead, what is important is whether or not the passive morpheme or the OM morpheme can absorb Case inside the verb from the verb root or other Case assigner. To absorb Case, a morpheme must be close to a Case assigner; that is, on the same or an adjacent level of morphological structure. Thus, the reason that passivization or object marking is sometimes impossible is because there is sometimes an intervening level of structure blocking the passive or OM morpheme from absorbing Case from the root (or applicative).

(29) A standard OM must absorb Case from a Case assigning morpheme (verb root or applicative morpheme) that is located at the same or an adjacent level of morphological structure (Woolford 1993).

OM [Vroot OM [[Vroot *

The conditions under which the passive morpheme can absorb Case are the same (see Woolford 1993), but because of the structure of the Bantu verb, the passive is attached lower than object markers and, thus, the passive has the opportunity to be in a position where it is close enough to get Case itself, but at the same time, block the OMs above it from getting Case. The structure of the Bantu verb has been discussed in various works such as Myers 1987. It is generally agreed that suffixes attach to the root first, then prefixes attach to this complex.

(30)



The only thing that needs to be added to this picture is the idea that suffixes like applicatives and the passive morpheme may be added to the root at an earlier level (say, in the lexicon), and if they are, no additional level of structure is created. (Cf. Marantz's 1984 notion of early and late morphological merger.) I will call this early level the 'root' level, following Woolford 1993.

Let us consider first what happens in a language like Kitharaka, with a symmetric OM pattern in active constructions and a symmetric passive, but no OMs allowed in the passive. In the passive, the passive morpheme is adjacent to the root level (where the applicative is attached, if one is present) and thus

the passive morpheme has access to the Case supplied by either the root or the applicative morpheme. However, an OM, if present, must be attached at a higher level, which puts it too far away from the root or applicative to get Case. Thus no OM is possible in the passive.

(31) [OM [[Vroot(+appl)] Pass]]
*

In the active, where there is no passive morpheme, the extra level of structure is absent. As a result, the OM is located at a level adjacent to the root and it can get Case.

(32) [OM [Vroot(+Appl)]]

This same situation holds in all symmetric passive constructions, so it will occur in Kichaga and Kinyarwanda as well. This is the basis of the claim in section two that the configuration that produces a symmetric passive always blocks standard OMs (OMs that need to absorb structural Case inside the verbal complex).

Kinyarwanda differs from Kitharaka in allowing more than one OM in active constructions, but the account is basically the same. If the passive is present, it will block any OMs from absorbing Case from the root/applicative. The only interesting question is why more than one OM can occur in the active (that is why one OM does not block the next from getting Case). The answer must be either that OMs attach at the same level, or else the different levels they occupy are not visible or relevant barriers to Case absorption.

(33) [OM OM OM [Vroot+Appl]]

As discussed above, it is assumed here that what enables languages like Kichaga and Kitharaka to have OMs in the passive is the presence of some type of non-standard OM that behaves like a pronoun, getting Case in syntax, rather than in the morphology.

Let us now turn to languages like Runyambo with an English-type asymmetric passive (where only the first NP can passivize). In this type of passive, for reasons spelled out in Woolford 1993, the passive morpheme attaches low/early, at the root level. As a result, it does not create an extra level of structure that blocks OMs from getting Case.

(34) [OM [Vroot+Appl+Pass]]

This is the basis of the claim in section two that it follows automatically under this account that English-type asymmetric passive constructions will not block standard OMs. As discussed in section two, the reason for the ungrammaticality of examples where the first NP is an OM and the second NP passivizes is not because of any problem involving OMs; it is simply ungrammatical for the second NP to passivize in languages of this type.

SiSwati allows both types of passives, which means that it allows its passive morpheme to attach either at the root level or at a higher level. When the passive morpheme attaches at the root level, the construction is like that of Runyambo. The OM is not blocked from getting Case, but since the first NP must passivize, only the second NP is available to be an OM. When the passive morpheme attaches at a higher level, as in Kitharaka, the passive morpheme blocks all standard OMs. Under this account, SiSwati does not allow any non-standard OMs.

This covers all of the Bantu languages discussed so far in this paper, but there is one remaining type of passive discussed in Woolford 1993 that has not yet been mentioned here: the Chichewa-type asymmetric passive. Here, neither the applicative nor the passive attach at the root level. Thus, when an applicative morpheme is present, this is the only morpheme from which the passive can absorb Case.

(35) [[[Vroot] Appl] passive]
*

The same situation holds for a standard OM in an active construction.

(36) [OM [[Vroot] Appl]
*

However, in the passive, the added level of structure blocks all OMs, just as in a symmetric passive. The only morpheme close enough to the OM is the passive morpheme, and it has no Case to assign.

(37) [OM [[[Vroot] Appl] Pass]]
*

If this were the whole story for Chichewa, we would expect exact parallelism in the behavior of passive and object marking in this language. That is, we would expect that exactly the same NPs that can passivize can be object markers and vice versa. However, there is one exception to this parallelism in Chichewa. In an instrumental applicative construction, where the two objects have the thematic roles of instrument and theme, only the instrument can passivize, as shown in (38); yet either object can be an object marker, as shown in (39) (Alsina and Mchombo 1993).

(38) Asymmetric Passive

a. Mwăla u-ku-phwány-ír-idw-á dēngu (ndí anyăni).
3-stone 3S-PR-break-AP-PAS-FV 5-basket by 2-baboons
The stone is being used (by the baboons) to break the basket.

b. *Dēngu li-ku-phwány-ír-idw-á mwăla (ndí anyăni).
5-basket 5S-PR-break-AP-PAS-FV 3-stone by 2-baboons

(39) Symmetric OM

a. Anyăni a-ku-ú-phwány-ir-á dēngu.
2-baboons 2S-PR-3O-break-AP-FV 5-basket
The baboons are breaking the basket with it.

b. Anyăni a-ku-lí-phwány-ir-á mwăla.
2-baboons 2S-PR-5O-break-AP-FV 3-stone
The baboons are breaking it with the stone.

Thus it appears that Chichewa, too, may allow a type of OM other than the standard one. As Baker 1988 observed, any NP that can occur adjacent to the verb can be an OM in Chichewa. (The order of objects is free in the above construction.) Thus it looks like Chichewa has a pronominal OM, which gets its Case in syntax, like a free pronoun does, and like free pronouns in English, must occur adjacent to the verb.[6]

4. Conclusion

This paper addresses the problem of why the passive seems to have a different effect on object marking in different Bantu languages and why the passive so often seems to block OMs. The paper focuses on data from SiSwati and Kinyarwanda that constitute unexpected counterexamples to the standard approach to passive and object marking from Gary and Keenan 1977 that forms the basis of much subsequent work.

An alternate approach is suggested here, based on the approach to passives in Woolford 1993. Under this approach, OMs are blocked in the passive, not because the passive and object marker compete for the same scarce resource (here, Case), but rather because the addition of the

[6]The one question that this approach does not yet answer is why that pronominal OM cannot occur in the passive in Chichewa. One possibility is that the NP trace also has to be adjacent to the verb in Chichewa. This would follow if Chichewa objects obey a hierarchy such that the first NP must be higher than the second: NP trace > Pronoun > NP. This would exclude the second NP passivizing while the first is an NP trace.

passive morpheme adds a structural level that blocks the access of object markers to Case. This modification makes it possible to account for the fact that several standard OMs can absorb Case in an active construction, while access to this property is blocked for all of standard OMs in a passive construction. This modification has the added benefit of allowing the theory to account for the odd behavior of SiSwati in a simple way and to capture the parallelism between the behavior of Runyambo and SiSwati.

This approach maintains the idea from Bresnan and Moshi 1990 that there is more than one kind of non-agreement object marker. One, called the standard OM here, has the same needs as the passive morpheme. The other, called here, the pronominal OM, has the same needs as a free pronoun. This approach also maintains the idea from Bresnan and Moshi that the number of object markers that a language can have is an independent factor that may be unrelated to other facts about object marking and passive.

Under this account, Kitharaka, Kinyarwanda, and Kichaga, and all other languages with symmetric passives, allow no standard OMs in the passive at all. Languages such as Kinyarwanda and Kichaga, which allow OMs in the passive, are claimed to have pronominal OM. In contrast, English-type asymmetric passive constructions do not interfere with OM formation in any way. Thus languages like Runyambo freely allow standard OMs in the passive. The key to understanding the odd pattern of SiSwati under this approach, is to realize that SiSwati allows both types of passive. This produces the pattern in which either NP can be an OM in the active, but only the second one (the one that does not passivize in the English-type asymmetric passive) can be an OM in the passive.

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